

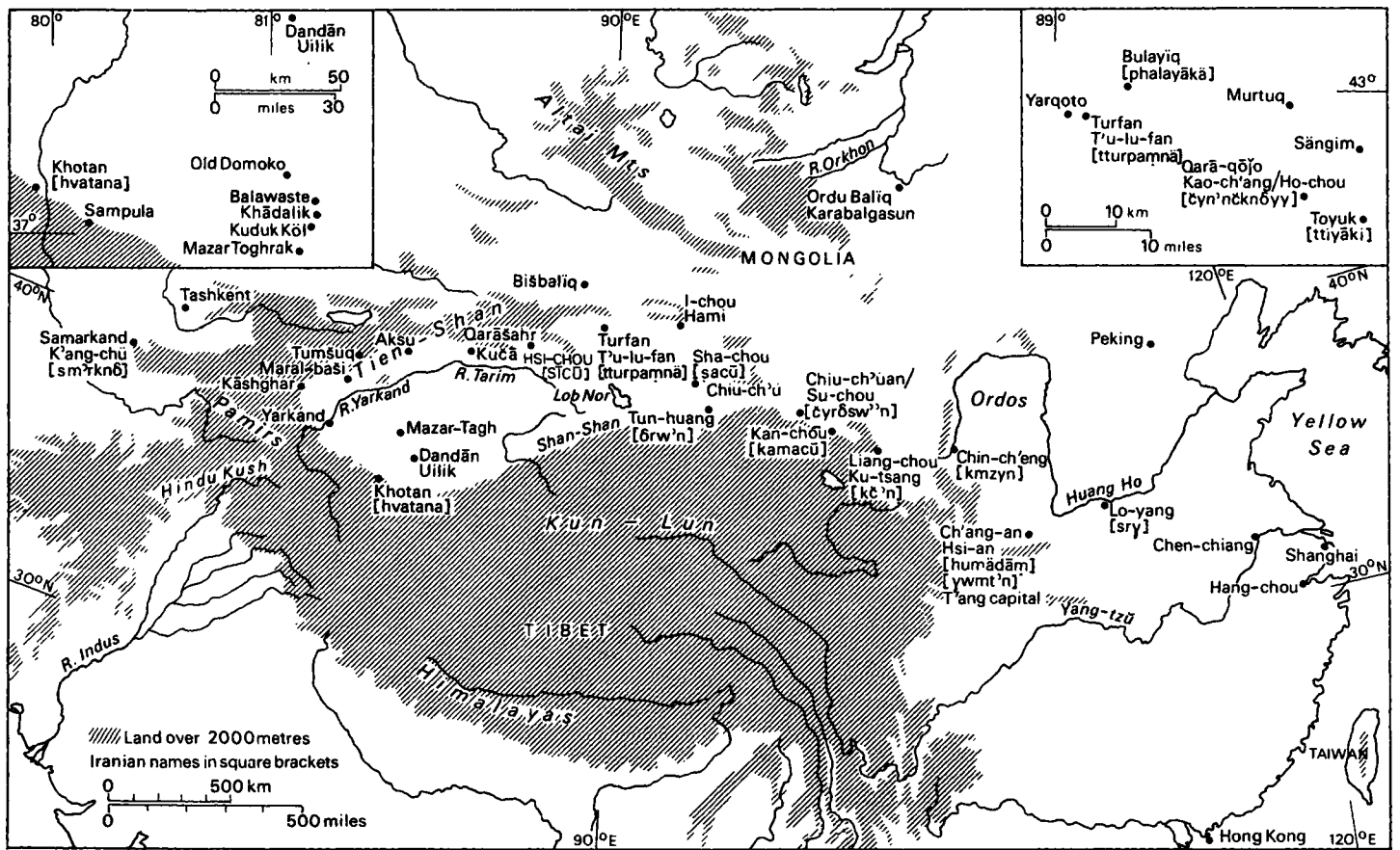
CHAPTER 7

THE IRANIAN SETTLEMENTS TO THE EAST OF THE PAMIRS

Although it was in 1922 that Rostovtzeff said, "We know but little of the history and archaeology of Central Asia and of the Iranian world",¹ these words remain valid today. Nomadic tribes speaking languages of Iranian origin must have been wandering about Central Asia from a very early period, probably from the first half of the second millennium B.C., but we do not know when they first began to settle in permanent villages. Isolated families may well have settled among foreigners from the earliest times.

In the case of one Iranian settlement in Central Asia that attained great fame in the first millennium A.D., we have several versions of the circumstances attending its foundation. But despite the prominence of the Iranian inhabitants of Khotan in this period, we have no information concerning their arrival. According to the Chinese and Tibetan accounts, which there is no reason to distrust, at any rate with regard to the broad outline of their accounts, the foundation of Khotan was effected by a compromise between exiled groups of Indians on the one hand and of Chinese on the other. All four of the accounts we have connect the Indian colonizing party with the son and ministers of the emperor Aśoka. This would place the foundation of Khotan firmly in the 3rd century B.C. The four accounts we have are found in two Chinese sources and in two Tibetan sources. The earliest is the account given by the Chinese Buddhist pilgrim Hsüan-tsang in his *Hsi-yü-chi*, dated to the 7th century A.D. With this the account in the Tibetan text known as the *Gośṛṅgavyākaraṇa* may be contemporary. Later are the accounts in the "Life of Hsüan-tsang" by his pupils Hui-li and Yen-ts'ung and in the Tibetan "Prophecy of the Li Country". Thus, even the earliest of them can only reflect the tradition current in Khotan in the 7th century concerning events a thousand years earlier. When Hsüan-tsang was in Khotan, the city was subservient to Chinese rule as it had lately been to that of the western Turks. Indian influence was everywhere present, and he duly recorded the use in Khotan of an Indian type of script and the large number of monasteries and adherents of the Mahāyāna.

¹ M. Rostovtzeff, *Iranians and Greeks in South Russia* (Oxford, 1922), p. viii.



Map 5. Iranian settlements east of the Pamirs.

Nevertheless, there are some indications of the early coexistence of Indians and Chinese in Khotan. From Yotqan, the ancient site of Khotan, we have a collection of coins from the first centuries A.D. bearing Chinese legends on the obverse and Indian Prakrit ones in the Kharoṣṭhī script on the reverse. Prakrit was indeed the administrative language of the nearby kingdom of Shan-shan in the 3rd century A.D., as we know from the discovery of Kharoṣṭhī documents, mainly at Niya. One of these documents, no. 661, from Endere, has been frequently discussed because of its special linguistic and historical importance. It is dated in the regnal year "of the great king of Khotan, king of kings". The king is named Vij'ida-simha, which corresponds with the royal name Bījaya Siṃha in the Tibetan "Prophecy of the Li Country", written more than half a millennium later. More striking still is the fact that he bears the title *hinajha* "generalissimo", which T. Burrow was the first to explain correctly as the Iranian equivalent of the well-known Sanskrit *senāpati*. We now have in fact in a Khotanese text the very word *hīnāysa*, corresponding to Tibetan *sde-dpon*, which elsewhere translates Sanskrit *senāpati*. Other traces of the influence of Khotanese have also been found on this document. The fact that the king's name is Sanskrit may indicate merely the preservation of a tradition handed down from an earlier period when the Indian colony provided the city's ruler. Hsüan-tsang states explicitly the contemporary belief that the royal power had been transmitted without interruption from the foundation of Khotan. But the use of a Khotanese word for the king's title and also of the term *ḷṣuna* "regnal period" (= Khotanese *ḷṣuna*) implies an established connection between the Iranian inhabitants and the royal power. Similarly, the use of Khotanese for royal rescripts in the 10th century makes it likely that the ruler of Khotan was a speaker of Iranian.

The name of Khotan is attested in a number of spellings, of which the oldest form is *hvatana*, in texts of approximately the 7th to the 10th century A.D. written in an Iranian language itself called *hvatana* by the writers. The same name is attested also in two closely related Iranian dialects, Sogdian and Tumshuq. The name need not be Iranian in origin, but it has the appearance of an Iranian word with the common adjectival suffix *-ana*. Attempts have accordingly been made to explain it as Iranian, and this is of some importance historically. My own preference is for an explanation connecting it semantically with the name Saka, for the Iranian inhabitants of Khotan spoke a language

closely related to that used by the Sakas in the north-west of India from the first century B.C. onwards.¹

Another early name for Khotan is Gostana, transcribed by Hsüan-tsang as Ch'ü-sa-tan-na, and attested in a Khotanese document in the spellings Gaustamā and Gāmsta. A bilingual text gives Gaustana-deśa as the Sanskrit equivalent of *Hvanya kṣīra* "land of Khotan". The origin of the name Gostana is unknown, but local legends show that *go-* was thought popularly to mean "cow" and *stana-* "breast". This implies a purely Sanskrit origin of the name. The connection with *stana-* "breast" has long been noted in the story of King Aśoka's abandoned son being kept alive by a breast that rose from the earth, whence his later name Sa-nu "Earth-breast" in Tibetan. The connection with *go-* "cow" can be seen in the story of the two traders from Sa-nu's entourage pursuing a pregnant cow. This allusion was missed by early scholars because of the false reconstruction from Hsüan-tsang's Ch'ü-sa-tan-na of Kustana instead of Gostana.

Most of our knowledge of the political history of Khotan derives from Chinese sources. The relevant passages have been translated by A. Rémusat, who compiled the first western history of Khotan. Our sources begin when relations with China in the first century B.C. become noticeable. In the Early Han Annals Khotan is a relatively small state, but its progress to a position of power is described in the Later Han Annals. About the middle of the 1st century A.D. king Yü-lin was attacked by and submitted to Hsien, king of So-chü (Yārkand). During the period A.D. 58–75, a general of Khotan called Hsiu-mo-pa revolted against Yārkand and made himself king of Khotan. After his death, the son of his elder brother, Kuang-te, having assumed power, destroyed Yārkand and made the kingdom powerful. Thirteen states as far as Shu-lo (Kashgar) came under the control of Khotan. There were then two great kingdoms east of the Pamirs: Khotan and Shan-shan.

During the last quarter of the 1st century A.D., Chinese power was supreme throughout the Tarim basin thanks to the great Chinese general Pan Ch'ao, but during the 2nd century their power steadily declined.

After a period of intermittent Chinese influence, Khotan could be described as "a pleasant and prosperous kingdom, with a numerous and flourishing population" by the Chinese pilgrim Fa-hsien, who

¹ See also chapter 34.

arrived in Khotan about A.D. 400 on his way to India in search of Buddhist scriptures. He went on to say: "The inhabitants all profess our Law, and join in its religious music for their enjoyment. The monks amount to several myriads, most of whom are students of the Mahāyāna."¹

Despite its submission from time to time to various peoples, to the T'u-yü-hun in A.D. 445, to the Juan-juan c. A.D. 470, to the Hephthalites c. A.D. 502-56 and to the western Turks c. A.D. 565-631, Khotan in the middle of the 7th century was evidently in much the same condition as it was when Fa-hsien was there, if we compare the account of Hsüan-tsang, who spent seven months or so in Khotan on his way back to China. Khotan was a cultural and religious centre of considerable importance. But barbarian invasions caused distress. At a later date, an unknown Khotanese poet laments them thus: "There are Mām̐kuyas, Red Khocas and Hunas, Cim̐ggas, Sup̐iyas, who have harmed our Khotanese land."² Here we have a reference to the Tibetans, the Huns, the Chinese and the Sum-pa. The Mām̐kuyas are not certainly identified.

It is as a consequence of the reassertion of Chinese power in the Tarim basin under the T'ang dynasty that we possess a considerable quantity of precise information concerning Khotan in the T'ang Annals. Here, for example, we are told that the family name of the ruling dynasty was Yü-ch'ih, a transcription of Khotanese Viśa', represented also in Tibetan Biṣa and other spellings.

From the Chinese Annals we learn of the succession of kings of Khotan from A.D. 674 as follows:

1	Fu-she Hsiung	A.D. 674
2	Ching	691
3	Yü-ch'ih T'iao	725
4	[Yü-ch'ih] Fu-shih Chan	728
5	Fu-she Ta	736
6	Yü-ch'ih Kuei	740
7	Sheng	742-55
8	Shih-hu Yao	756-86

Several unsuccessful attempts have been made to explain these names as transcriptions or translations of the royal names given in the Tibetan "Prophecy of the Li Country".

From about A.D. 759 onwards the Tibetans gradually overran Ho-hsi

¹ Giles, *The Travels of Fa-hsien*, pp. 4-7.

² R. E. Emmerick, *The Book of Zambasta* (Oxford, 1968), p. 229.

and Lung-yu and cut off all communication between China and the protectorates of An-hsi (modern Turkestan; capital at ancient Kučā) and Pei-t'ing (protectorate whose seat was at Bišbalīq). In A.D. 848 the Chinese imperial commissioner Chang I-ch'ao at Tun-huang revolted against the Tibetans and took I-chou (= Hami or Qomul) and Hsi-chou. About A.D. 865 P'u-ku Tsün, *qayan* of the Uighurs (Hui-hu), in alliance nominally with the Chinese, drove out the Tibetans and took control of the whole north of what is modern Sin-kiang.

The 10th-century geography *Hudūd al-'ālam* tells us that "The king of Khotan lives in great state and calls himself 'Lord of the Turks and Tibetans'. He lives on the boundary of China and Tibet."¹ No such title has been found in the Khotanese documents, but it is probable that Khotan remained independent from the end of the 9th century until its conquest in A.D. 1005 by the Muslim ruler Yūsuf Qadīr Khān. The presence of Turks within the kingdom of Khotan is reflected in the large number of Turkish titles and names found in Khotanese documents.

The long period of separation of Khotan from China caused by the Tibetan power meant that no embassies were sent to China, and hence there is less information from Chinese sources. The first embassy after this period was the one sent in A.D. 938 by the Khotan ruler Li Sheng-t'ien, who has been identified with Viśa' Saṃbhava of the Khotanese documents. A sequence of kings from the Khotanese documents has been proposed as follows:²

A.D. 912-66 Viśa' Saṃbhava
 967-77? Viśa' Śūra
 978-82? Viśa' Dharma

This sequence is not, however, reflected in the Tibetan "Prophecy of the Li Country". There the last rulers mentioned in the chronological part of the work are:

- 1 Bijaya Saṅgrama
- 2 Bijaya Bikrama
- 3 Bijaya Dh̄arma
- 4 Bijaya Saṃbh̄aba
- 5 Bijaya Boḥan Chen-po

If Bijaya Saṅgrama is in fact to be identified with Sheng (A.D. 742-55) as has been recently suggested, this would place the composition of

¹ P. 85.

² E. G. Pulleyblank, "The date of the Staël-Holstein roll", *Asia Major* IV (1954), 94.

the "Prophecy of the Li Country" before A.D. 912. This would agree with the date mentioned above (A.D. 865) for the end of Tibetan supremacy in Central Asia.

If the dates proposed for the Khotan kings of the 10th century are correct, as they appear to be, the last years of Khotanese independence before the Muslim conquest will have been a great period of literary activity. From the reign of Viśa' Śūra we have the *Jātakastava*, the *Mañjuśrinairātmyāvatārasūtra* and some Vajrayāna verses.

Several other royal names previously known only from the Tibetan "Prophecy of the Li Country" are now found in Khotanese texts. Tibetan Bijaya Kīrti appears as Viśa' Kīrtta, Viśa' Kīrttā; Bijaya Bikrama as Viśya Vikrraṃ; Bijaya Bohan Chen-po as Vāśa' Vāhaṃ; Bijaya Saṅgrama as Śrī-Vijitta Sagraṃa, Śrī Vijatta Sagrauma.

The local literature of Khotan is wholly Buddhist but is not confined to translations of Buddhist texts. A great variety of literature is available, including documents of historical importance.¹ The Khotanese manuscripts have for the most part come from the Tun-huang library (see below), but finds have been made at a number of sites, mainly the meagre remains of former shrines and monasteries, within about a hundred miles to the north and to the east of Khotan and at the old site of Khotan itself known as Yotqan. The location of such sites as Balawaste, Dandān-oilik, Domoko (Dumaqu), Khādalik, Kuduk Köl, Mazar Tagh, Mazar Toghrak and Sampula can be seen on map 5, based on the drawing of M. A. Stein, who explored and excavated them.² The influence of Khotan was no doubt strongly felt throughout this area at least until A.D. 1000.

North of the Yārkand river and south-west of Aqsu lie two small villages known as Maral-baši, formerly Barčuq, and Tumšuq. Their history is wholly unknown to literary sources. The name Tumšuq itself cannot be older than the 10th century when the Qarakhānids imposed Islam on the area, as the word is Turkish, meaning "beak". But in Pelliot's estimation it was one of the oldest Buddhist sites in Chinese Turkestan, its monastery dating from the end of the 4th century A.D. or the beginning of the 5th. In the court of the building complex at the Toquz-saray site was found a manuscript containing the formulas for the ceremony of ordination of monks. It is written in an Iranian language that is so closely connected with Khotanese that the two must be regarded as different dialects of a single Saka language. Thus it is

¹ See chapter 34.

² Stein, *Innermost Asia* iv, map 14.

clear that speakers of an Iranian language settled in Tumšūq, possibly as early as the 4th century A.D.

Six documents found in Maral-baši, one in Tumšūq and one in Murtuq are also written in the same language. They have been transcribed and translated by S. Konow. Murtuq is east even of Kučā and Qarāshahr, and the script certainly betrays the influence of Kučean. But it is convenient to label the language Tumšūq since most of the documents come from that area, and all may ultimately have come from there.

There are in addition three large folios and one small one written in Tumšūq, which have not yet been translated. Two of these texts are documents concerned with buying and selling articles connected with wearing apparel. One is evidently part of a religious text, probably the *Araṇemijātaka* known to us in Tokharian.

Even more widely scattered throughout Central Asia than the Sakas were the Iranian-speaking people known as Sogdian. The oldest form of the name in the language itself is attested in the Sogdian "Ancient Letters" as *swydyk*. Among other forms, we have Sog-dag in a Tibetan manuscript from Tun-huang, and the well-known forms Σόγδοι in Herodotus, Suguda in Old Persian and Suyda in Avestan. Although spoken over a wide area, the language shows remarkable uniformity in the written material extant despite its use for both secular and religious purposes (Buddhist, Christian and Manichaean) and its transmission in different scripts (Sogdian, Manichaean, Syriac).¹ In a valley near Samarkand a language known as Yaghnōbī, which continues a dialect of Sogdian different from any known to us in earlier sources, is still spoken at the present day.

The homeland of the Sogdians was, of course, the region of Samarkand, known to us now in Sogdian itself in the adjective *sm'rkndē* "pertaining to Samarkand", found in documents from the Sogdian homeland. Most of our material comes, however, from further east, but the Sogdians outside their homeland remained in contact with it, as the survival of some of their correspondence, the "Ancient Letters", shows.² Four of these letters were written in Tun-huang, Sogdian Δrw'n, Ptolemy's Θροάνα. As these letters can be dated to the year A.D. 313, we know that there were Sogdians in Tun-huang, apparently in large numbers, before building began in A.D. 366 at the famous site of Ch'ien-fo-tung, the "Caves of the Thousand Buddhas", nine miles

¹ See chapter 33.

² See chapters 6 and 33.

south-west of the city. It was among the hundreds of cave-temples here that Aurel Stein in 1907 found a medieval library of Central Asian manuscripts. This library included among other things the largest proportion of extant Khotanese literature and a considerable amount of Sogdian, in particular the majority of the Buddhist Sogdian manuscripts. We know from the colophon of one of these that it was written in Tun-huang.

Tun-huang and Shou-ch'ang were sub-prefectures of Sha-chou. Although the name of Tun-huang has not so far been traced in Khotanese documents, Sha-chou, spelled Ṣacū, is frequent. The roll known as "the Staël-Holstein Miscellany" was written in Sha-chou. We have a document written by envoys reporting to the court of Khotan on the situation in Sha-chou in the 10th century and one issued from the court of Khotan to the *tteyi-huām* (Khotanese title = Chinese *ta-wang*) in Sha-chou. The latter document provides the first reference in Khotanese sources to the final struggle of Khotan with Kashgar. It tells of an attack on Kashgar and the capture of an elephant, among other things, from the Arab ruler. This must be the elephant referred to in the Chinese account of a Buddhist priest who brought a letter in A.D. 971 from the king of Khotan offering to send in tribute a dancing elephant which he had captured in a war against Kashgar.

A recent study of the colony of An-ch'eng, some five hundred metres east of Tun-huang town, showed that its three villages contained about 1,400 people, of whom a considerable number, to judge by their names, were likely to be Sogdian.

After Tun-huang, the most famous place in Central Asia associated with Iranian-speakers is the Turfan region. The name Turfan is known in Khotanese as *Tturpaṃnā* and in Chinese as *T'u-lu-fan*. For the history of the region, we have a sketch by S. Lévi¹ and the summary of "an unpublished memoir" by Pelliot "on the history of the Turfan region".² Turfan has been made famous in modern times by the discovery made there by the German Turfan expeditions (1902-14) of large numbers of manuscripts written in Iranian and other languages.

Most of the sites near Turfan yielded texts in Manichaean Middle Persian and Parthian as well as Sogdian. The site richest in texts was Qoço, modern *Qarā-qōjo*, a few miles east of Turfan. This was the principal city of the Turfan region down to the end of the 14th century. The name of the city in Chinese sources is usually Kao-ch'ang or

¹ Fragments, pp. 15-19.

² Pelliot, *Notes on Marco Polo* 1, p. 163.

Ho-chou. It began as a Chinese military colony in the 1st century B.C. and was frequently the administrative centre of the region. In accordance with its origin it is called in Sogdian in the *Mahrnāmag ʿyn'nčknδyy*, literally "the Chinese town". In about A.D. 790 it was conquered by the Tibetans, and after the fall of the Uighur empire in the Orkhon basin in A.D. 840-3, the Uighurs (Toquz Oghuz) made Qočo their southern capital. It has long been known from Arabic sources that these Toquz Oghuz were Manichaeans, and this is strikingly confirmed by the abundant writings in Manichaean script found there. A Chinese traveller of the 10th century A.D. reported Buddhist temples of T'ang date as well as temples belonging to the Manichaeans and others, either Zoroastrians or Nestorians.

From a Christian monastery near the hamlet of Bulayīq (probably Khotanese Phalayākā), north of Turfan, come a considerable number of Christian Sogdian texts, written in the Syriac script.

Yarqoto, a short distance west of Turfan, became the centre of administration of Hsi-chou "the Western District" after the T'ang conquest of Qočo in A.D. 640. Hsi-chou is known to Khotanese texts as Secū, Sīcū. Among the texts found at Yarqoto are Sogdian translations of parts of the *Suvarṇaprabhāsottamasūtra* and the *Mahāparinirvāṇasūtra*.

Middle Persian or Parthian and Sogdian manuscripts have also been found in three small places all near Qočo, namely Murtuq, Sängim and Toyuq. Toyuq was recognized in Khotanese Ttiyāki and in Chinese Ting-ku. In a large ruined monastery in picturesque Toyuq, von Le Coq found a half-destroyed library containing "the remains of Manichaean, Christian and Buddhist MSS., together with Chinese scrolls, Hephthalite fragments, and fragments in Kökturkish runes. Ten Iranian fragments in Manichaean script survive from Tuyuq, together with one New Persian fragment in Syriac script."¹

The T'ang Annals describe the Sogdians as follows: "They are accustomed to write in horizontal lines. They excel in commerce and love profit; as soon as a man is twenty years old, he goes off into the neighbouring kingdoms; they have gone wherever it is possible to make a profit. The twelfth month is for them the beginning of the year. They follow the Buddhist religion; they offer sacrifice to the god of heaven."² This is a succinct description of their essential charac-

¹ Boyce, *A Catalogue of the Iranian Manuscripts in Manichean Script in the German Turfan Collection*, p. xvii.

² Chavannes, *Documents sur les Tou-kiue (Tures) occidentaux*, pp. 134-5.

teristics. They established colonies in many places in Central Asia and went far into China, engaging especially in the silk trade. As for their calendar, it is well known that a number of works in the Chinese *Tripitaka* contain transcriptions of the Sogdian names of the planets. To their devotion to Buddhism and Zoroastrianism could be added that to Manichaeism. The Manichaean script, a variant of the Palmyrene, became a symbol of adherence to Manichaeism and was used by scribes writing in Parthian, Middle Persian, Sogdian, Bactrian, Uighur and Kučean.

Chinese sources provide evidence of Sogdian colonies in I-chou (Hami or Qomul) and in the region south of Lob Nor. We are told that there were "merchant Hu" (Sogdians) in I-chou during the Sui dynasty (A.D. 589-618). In A.D. 630, the chief of Hami, Shih Wan-nien (Shih is a Sogdian surname associated with Tashkent), submitted to the Chinese with seven cities, probably those south of Lob Nor. It is known that four of these were constructed in the period A.D. 627-49 by Sogdians under a great notable of Samarkand called K'ang Yen-tien.

One of the Sogdian "Ancient Letters", the second, dated to A.D. 313, tells of the destruction in A.D. 311 by the Hsiung-nu of the Chinese capital Lo-yang, Sogdian Sry. Incidentally it mentions the presence of Indians and Sogdians there.

When the Uighurs sacked Lo-yang in A.D. 762, they remained there for several months during which their chief was converted to Manichaeism, which had been introduced at the Chinese court by a man from Persia in A.D. 694. When he departed in A.D. 763 he took with him four Manichaean monks to Ordu Baliq, the Uighur capital from A.D. 744-840. These events were commemorated in a trilingual inscription - Chinese, Turkish and Sogdian - set up by the Uighur qayan Ai tängriḡä qut bulmiš alp Bilgä (A.D. 808-21) at the site of Karabalgasun on the left bank of the Orkhon river.

A detailed account of the fortunes of the Sogdians in the Ordos region has been reconstructed from Chinese sources by E. G. Pulleyblank. Sogdians lived in considerable numbers at the court of the qayan of the northern Turks in present-day Mongolia. The people resented the favour shown to the Sogdians by Hsieh-li, the last qayan of the first empire, who was captured by the Chinese in A.D. 630. The Chinese settled the captured Turks, including Sogdians, in "protected" prefectures. In A.D. 679 there were established Six Hu Prefectures in the southern part of the Ordos region. Five of the leaders of the Hu of the Six Prefectures who revolted from the Chinese in A.D. 721 had

Sogdian names. K'ang Tai-pin was executed in A.D. 721, and when his son was defeated in the following year, many of the Sogdians were moved into prefectures in several provinces. There were, however, many Sogdians in the armies of An Lu-shan, who headed the great rebellion in the middle of the 8th century which nearly overthrew the T'ang dynasty. An Lu-shan's father was a Sogdian and his mother a Turk. His name is probably a transcription of Sogdian *rwxs'n*- "shining, bright". The Sogdian colonists finally left the Ordos region in A.D. 786 when they were moved to the region of Shuo Chou and Yün Chou.

We know of the presence of Sogdians in the 4th century A.D. at three of the cities on the route from Sha-chou to Ch'ang-an and in Ch'ang-an itself from the Sogdian "Ancient Letters". Leaving Sha-chou one comes first to Su-chou, found in Khotanese as Sauhä-cū, earlier known as Chiu-ch'üan, in which Henning saw Sogdian *čyrδsw'n*. The second Sogdian "Ancient Letter" is dated in the thirteenth year of the ruler of *čyrδsw'n*. The next place, Kan-chou, is not found in Sogdian but is mentioned frequently as Kamacū in 10th-century Khotanese documents. Then we have Liang-chou, earlier Ku-tsang, Sogdian *kč'n*. Sogdian "Ancient Letter" v, dated to A.D. 313, was written in *kč'n*, which is also mentioned in *Letter* II. In the 4th century Ku-tsang was an important town and the residence of the governor of the province of Liang. Chinese sources tell us that merchants of Su-t'e (Sogdiana) used to go in great numbers to the province of Liang, but that on the capture of Ku-tsang (A.D. 439) they were all taken prisoner. One other identifiable place on this route is mentioned in the second Sogdian "Ancient Letter", namely *kmyzn*, identified as Chin-ch'eng. It is probable that Sogdians resided there, but no further evidence is available.

R. Gauthiot was the first to recognize a Sogdian reference to Ch'ang-an, the T'ang capital, modern Hsi-an. According to its colophon, one of the Buddhist texts found in Tun-huang was actually written "in the city of Xumdān". Ch'ang-an was known also to the Khotanese as Humādām. Henning found two references to Ch'ang-an as *'xwmt'n* in the second Sogdian "Ancient Letter".

The Iranians brought not only Manichaeism to China but also Nestorian Christianity. In A.D. 1625 there came to light the famous Nestorian monument of Hsi-an, written in Chinese and Syriac and dated in the year A.D. 781. It tells the early history of Christianity in China from the time of its introduction by a Persian monk named A-lo-pen, who came to Ch'ang-an in A.D. 635. Below the Chinese inscription is

a list of priests and monks including at least two with Iranian names. A certain Gabriel is described in Syriac as "priest and archdeacon and head of the church of Xumdān (*kmd'n*) and Sarag (*sr̄y*)". Saray, it will be recalled, is found in the Sogdian "Ancient Letters" as the name of Lo-yang.

The furthest east to which Iranians penetrated of which we have record is Chen-chiang, about 140 miles from the mouth of the river Yang-tzū. Marco Polo's notice of Christian churches at Chen-chiang has been confirmed by a fairly detailed account in a Chinese work of the 14th century. A certain Mar-Sargis, whose family came from Samarqand, founded six churches in Chen-chiang and one in Hang-chou in the second half of the 13th century A.D.

The remarkable diffusion of Iranians throughout Central Asia and into China was clearly due to two causes: their love of trade and their desire to propagate their own religion.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

The abbreviations used in the bibliographies and footnotes are listed below.

<i>AA</i>	<i>Archäologischer Anzeiger</i> (Beiblatt zum Jahrbuch des deutschen archäologischen Instituts) (Berlin)
<i>AAWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Göttingen)
<i>AAntASH</i>	<i>Acta antiqua academiae scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>AArchASH</i>	<i>Acta archaeologica academiae scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>AB</i>	<i>Analecta Bollandiana</i> (Brussels)
<i>Acta Iranica</i>	<i>Acta Iranica</i> (encyclopédie permanente des études iraniennes) (Tehran–Liège–Leiden)
<i>Aevum</i>	<i>Aevum</i> (Rassegna di Scienze Storiche Linguistiche e Filologiche) (Milan)
<i>AGWG</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der (königlichen) Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen</i> (Berlin)
<i>AI</i>	<i>Ars Islamica</i> = <i>Ars Orientalis</i> (Ann Arbor, Mich.)
<i>AION</i>	<i>Annali: Istituto Orientale di Napoli</i> (s.l. sezione linguistica; n.s. new series) (Naples)
<i>AJSLL</i>	<i>American Journal of Semitic Languages and Literature</i> (Chicago)
<i>AKM</i>	<i>Abhandlungen für die Kunde des Morgenlandes</i> (Leipzig)
<i>AMI</i>	<i>Archäologische Mitteilungen aus Iran</i> (old series 9 vols 1929–38; new series 1968–) (Berlin)
<i>Anatolia</i>	<i>Anatolia</i> (revue annuelle d'archéologie) (Ankara)
<i>ANS</i>	American Numismatic Society
<i>ANSMN</i>	<i>American Numismatic Society Museum Notes</i> (New York)
<i>ANSNM</i>	American Numismatic Society Numismatic Notes and Monographs (New York)
<i>ANSNS</i>	American Numismatic Society Numismatic Studies (New York)
<i>Antiquity</i>	<i>Antiquity</i> (a periodical review of archaeology edited by Glyn Daniel) (Cambridge)
<i>AO</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia</i> (ediderunt Societates Orientales Batava Danica Norvegica Svedica) (Copenhagen)
<i>AOAW</i>	<i>Anzeiger der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
<i>AOH</i>	<i>Acta Orientalia Academiae Scientiarum Hungaricae</i> (Budapest)
<i>APAW</i>	<i>Abhandlungen der Preussischen (Deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften</i> (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Berlin)
<i>Apollo</i>	<i>Apollo</i> (The magazine of the arts) (London)
<i>ArOr</i>	<i>Archiv Orientalní</i> (Quarterly Journal of African, Asian and Latin American Studies) (Prague)
<i>Artibus Asiae</i>	<i>Artibus Asiae</i> (Institute of Fine Arts, New York University) (Dresden, Ascona)

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- ASIR* *Archaeological Survey of India*. Reports made during the years 1862- by Alexander Cunningham, 23 vols. Simla-Calcutta, 1871-87.
- BASOR* *Bulletin of the American Schools of Oriental Research* (Baltimore, Maryland)
- BCH* *Bulletin de Correspondance Hellénique* (Athens-Paris)
- BCMA* *The Bulletin of the Cleveland Museum of Art* (Cleveland, Ohio)
- BEFEO* *Bulletin de l'École Française d'Extrême Orient* (Hanoi-Paris)
- Berytus* *Berytus* (archaeological studies published by the Museum of Archaeology and the American University of Beirut) (Copenhagen)
- BMQ* *British Museum Quarterly* (London)
- BSO(A)S* *Bulletin of the School of Oriental (and African) Studies* (University of London)
- Byzantion* *Byzantion* (Revue Internationale des Études Byzantines) (Brussels)
- CAH* *The Cambridge Ancient History*, 12 vols; 1st edition 1924-39 (Cambridge) (Revised edition 1970-)
- Caucasica* *Caucasica* (Zeitschrift für die Erforschung der Sprachen und Kulturen des Kaukasus und Armeniens) 10 fascs (Leipzig, 1924-34)
- CII* *Corpus Inscriptionum Indicarum* (Oxford)
- CIIr* *Corpus Inscriptionum Iranicarum* (London)
- CRAI* *Comptes rendus de l'Académie des inscriptions et belles lettres* (Paris)
- CSCO* *Corpus Scriptorum Christianorum Orientalium* (Paris, Louvain)
- CSEL* *Corpus Scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum Latinorum* (Vienna)
- DOAW* *Denkschriften der Österreichischen Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
- East and West* *East and West* (Quarterly published by the Istituto Italiano per il Medio ed Estremo Orient) (Rome)
- EI* *Epigraphia Indica* (Calcutta)
- Eos* *Eos* (Commentarii Societatis Philologiae Polonorum) (Bratislava-Warsaw)
- EPRO* *Études préliminaires aux religions orientales dans l'Empire romain* (Leiden)
- Eranos* *Eranos* (Acta Philologica Suecana) (Uppsala)
- ERE* *Encyclopedia of Religion and Ethics*, ed. James Hastings, 13 vols (Edinburgh, 1908-21)
- GCS* *Die griechischen christlichen Schriftsteller der ersten drei Jahrhunderte* (Leipzig, Berlin)
- Georgica* *Georgica* (a journal of Georgian and Caucasian studies) nos. 1-5 (London, 1935-7)
- GJ* *The Geographical Journal* (London)

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- Hellenica* *Hellenica* (recueil d'épigraphie de numismatique et d'antiquités grecques) (Paris)
- Historia* *Historia* (Journal of Ancient History) (Wiesbaden)
- HJAS* *Harvard Journal of Asiatic Studies* (Cambridge, Mass.)
- HO* *Handbuch der Orientalistik*, ed. B. Spuler (Leiden-Cologne)
- HOS* *Harvard Oriental Series* (Cambridge, Mass.)
- IA* *Iranica Antiqua* (Leiden)
- IJ* *Indo-Iranian Journal* (The Hague)
- IndAnt* *The Indian Antiquary*, 62 vols (Bombay, 1872-1933)
- Iran* *Iran* (journal of the British Institute of Persian Studies) (London-Tehran)
- Iraq* *Iraq* (journal of the British School of Archaeology in Iraq) (London)
- JA* *Journal Asiatique* (Paris)
- JAOS* *Journal of the American Oriental Society* (New York)
- JASB* *Journal (and proceedings) of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (Calcutta)
- JASBB* *Journal of the Asiatic Society Bombay Branch* (Bombay)
- JCOI* *Journal of the K. R. Cama Oriental Institute*, 29 vols (Bombay, 1922-35)
- JCS* *Journal of Cuneiform Studies* (New Haven, Conn.)
- JESHO* *Journal of the Economic and Social History of the Orient* (Leiden)
- JHS* *Journal of Hellenic Studies* (London)
- JMBRAS* *Journal of the Malayan Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society* (Singapore)
- JNES* *Journal of Near Eastern Studies* (Chicago)
- JNSI* *Journal of the Numismatic Society of India* (Bombay)
- JRAS* *Journal of the Royal Asiatic Society* (London)
- JRS* *The Journal of Roman Studies* (London)
- Kairos* *Kairos* (Zeitschrift für Religionswissenschaft und Theologie) (Salzburg)
- Klio* *Klio* (Beiträge zur Alten Geschichte) (Berlin)
- Kuml* *Kuml* (Aarbog for Jysk Arkaeologisk Selskab) (Aarhus)
- KSIIMK* *Kratkie soobshcheniya o dokladakh i polevykh issledovaniyakh Instituta istorii materialnoi kultury AN SSR* (Moscow)
- KZ* *Zeitschrift für vergleichende Sprachforschung, begründet von Adalbert Kuhn* (Göttingen)
- LCL* Loeb Classical Library
- MDAFA* Mémoires de la délégation archéologique française en Afghanistan (Paris)
- Mesopotamia* *Mesopotamia* (Rivista di Archeologia, Faculta di Lettere e filosofia) (University of Turin)
- MMAB* *The Metropolitan Museum of Art Bulletin* (old series 1905-42; new series 1942-) (New York)

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- Le Muséon* *Le Muséon* (Revue d'Études Orientales) (Louvain-Paris)
- Museum* *Museum* (art magazine edited by the Tokyo National Museum) (Tokyo)
- NC* *Numismatic Chronicle* (London)
- NGWG* *Nachrichten von der Königlichen Gesellschaft der Wissenschaften zu Göttingen* (Göttingen)
- Numismatica* *Numismatica* (Rome)
- OLZ* *Orientalische Literaturzeitung* (Berlin-Leipzig)
- Oriens* *Oriens* (journal of the International Society for Oriental Research) (Leiden)
- Orientalia* *Orientalia* (a quarterly published by the Faculty of Ancient Oriental Studies, Pontifical Biblical Institute) new series (Rome)
- Pauly* Pauly, A. *Real-Encyclopädie der classischen Altertumswissenschaft* (ed. G. Wissowa) (Stuttgart, 1894-)
- PBA* *Proceedings of the British Academy* (London)
- Philologus* *Philologus* (Zeitschrift für das klassische Altertum) (Stolberg, etc., now Berlin)
- PO* *Patrologia Orientalis* (ed. R. Gaffin and F. Nau) (Paris)
- RAA* *Revue des arts asiatiques* (Paris)
- RAC* *Reallexicon für Antike und Christentum* (ed. T. Klauser) (Stuttgart, 1950-)
- REA* *Revue des études arméniennes*, nouvelle série (Paris)
- Religion* *Religion* (A Journal of Religion and Religions) (Newcastle upon Tyne)
- RGG* *Die Religion in Geschichte und Gegenwart*, 2nd ed., 6 vols (Tübingen, 1927-32); 3rd ed., 7 vols (Tübingen, 1957-65)
- RHR* *Revue de l'Histoire des Religions* (Paris)
- RIN* *Rivista Italiana di Numismatica e Scienze Affini* (Milan)
- RN* *Revue Numismatique* (Paris)
- RSO* *Rivista degli Studi Orientali* (Rome)
- Saeculum* *Saeculum* (Jahrbuch für Universalgeschichte) (Freiburg-Munich)
- SBE* *Sacred Books of the East* (Oxford)
- SCBO* *Scriptorum Classicorum Bibliotheca Oxoniensis* (Oxford)
- Semitica* *Semitica* (Cahiers publiés par l'Institut d'Études Sémitiques de l'Université de Paris) (Paris)
- SHAW* *Sitzungsberichte der heidelberger Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Heidelberg)
- SPA* *A Survey of Persian Art*, ed. A. U. Pope and P. Ackerman, 6 vols (Text pp. 1-2817) (Oxford-London-New York, 1938-39); repr. 12 vols (Tokyo, 1964-65); no vol. XIII; vol. XIV *New Studies 1938-1960* (Text pp. 2879-3205) (Oxford-London, 1967); vol. XV *Bibliography of Pre-Islamic Persian Art to 1938* (cols 1-340), Reprint of *Index to Text Volumes I-III (i-vi)*

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- SPAW* *Sitzungsberichte der Preussischen (Deutschen) Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Berlin)
- StIr* *Studia Iranica* (Leiden)
- Sumer* *Sumer* (journal of archaeology and history in Iraq) (Baghdad)
- SWAW* *Sitzungsberichte der Wiener (Österreichischen) Akademie der Wissenschaften* (Phil. Hist. Klasse) (Vienna)
- Syria* *Syria* (Revue d'art oriental et d'archéologie) (Paris)
- TITAKE* *Trudi Iuzhno-Turkmenistanskoi Archeologicheskoi Kimpleknoi Ekspeditsii*, 6 vols (Moscow, 1949-58)
- TM* *Travaux et mémoires* (Centre de Recherche d'Histoire et Civilization de Byzance) (Paris)
- T'oung Pao* *T'oung Pao* (Archives concernant l'histoire, les langues, la géographie, l'ethnographie et les arts de l'Asie orientale) (Leiden)
- TPS* *Transactions of the Philological Society* (London)
- VDI* *Vestnik drevnei istorii* (Moscow)
- WVDOG* *Wissenschaftliche Veröffentlichungen der Deutschen Orient-Gesellschaft* (Leipzig)
- WZKM* *Wiener Zeitschrift für die Kunde des Morgenlandes* (Vienna)
- YCS* *Yale Classical Studies* (New Haven, Conn.)
- ZA* *Zeitschrift für Assyriologie* (Berlin)
- ZDMG* *Zeitschrift der deutschen morgenländischen Gesellschaft* (Wiesbaden)
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CHAPTER I

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